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593 The child is psychologically prepared for the *šilah* relationship
605 by the comments, stories, and actual behavior of adults: "Your
834 father and mother, when you and your sister are both at home,
867 do not say any wrong word. They are very careful." Thus the child, as soon as he is old enough to appreciate the cross-currents of social attitudes, becomes aware that the appearance of a *šilah* compels a certain decorum in speech and action.

A Chiricahua man and woman related in this way hardly speak to each other. Cousins, or a sister and a brother, could not even go out walking together. They can't joke much. Something holds them apart, so that they don't get too familiar. They aren't lectured about it when they are young. They just sense it and see it; it is taken for granted.

I notice the restraint in my own wife's family. My wife's *šilah* [father's brother's son] doesn't stay long when my wife is around. He has never been known to joke with her. He will with me. She takes the attitude that she wants to serve him when he is around. She acts in a formal way as if she wanted to serve him and please him. This man has a sister who is quite free with my wife. They are just reserved to the opposite sex.

In the old days those [a boy and a girl] who had the same father and mother hardly spoke to each other. They would sit there and wouldn't say anything. They talked to the father and mother in each other's presence, but not to each other. If joking [risqué] goes on when they are both there, one of them has to go away to show respect.

If you come where your sister is alone, you put disgrace on the whole family. If the mother and father aren't at home and the sister is alone, you must leave the camp. You must stay somewhere else. You must go to the sunny side of a hill or in the shade and sleep until your parents come home. Also, when the whole family is together, you must show respect for your sister. This feeling begins when you are about six or seven years old, when you are just big enough to understand what is being said to you. At that age you can still play with your sisters because perhaps you have no other playmates. But after you are fourteen or fifteen, you don't play with your sisters any more. In the old days a boy would not even accompany his sister to an Indian dance.

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593 Many households where there are older children find it con-
605 venient to erect an additional shelter where the boy can stay if
834 he should find his sister the sole occupant of the family dwelling. Brothers and sisters feel so uncomfortable in each other's presence that they do not court situations which will throw them together. But they are members of the same household, and it is

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night eat well, for if the enemy does come you can hide yourself because of the dark and get away."

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Facial hair is greatly disdained, and its growth is usually attributed to disobedience of some kind. There is a test of self-discipline related to this:

My father used to tell me, "When you are old enough to go in the creek and you are in training, every now and then walk straight into the water until it reaches the place under your nose where a moustache would begin. But if you drink the water or get it in your nose or mouth you will have a moustache." I tried this several times just for fun. The older people warned us not to let the water in; they didn't want us to have moustaches. They said that if we smoked while we were little we would get a moustache too. [276]

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The last sentence of this quotation calls attention to another matter concerning which the boy receives instruction at about this time. Smoking is the prerogative of the warriors and of the older women:

They tell a boy that he will have to catch a coyote first before he can smoke, but they mean it just as a joke. Some try it, of course; that's what they tell the boys to do it for, to see them try something that no boy can do. It's just like sending a boy for the thing they call "that with which one smokes."

Among older men the admonition is used in jest: "Not long ago when I lit a cigarette an old man said to me, 'When did you catch your coyote?' I told him, 'I've never done it, and I don't believe you ever did either.' He only laughed." To smoke during the boyhood or the training period is said to make a boy "lazy and no good at work."

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Gradually the boys become inured to the demands made upon them and even devise tests of character for themselves. To demonstrate their bravery, they place dry sage or the pith of the sunflower stalk on their skins, ignite it, and let it burn to ash. Even though they are burned severely enough to show a scar years later, they must not flinch.

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The training described thus far is entirely in the hands of the immediate family, but, when the youth reaches the age of puberty, this hardening process takes a more formalized turn. The father lets his son know that momentous days are ahead: "There are harder things to be learned later. When you are a little older,

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868 I will continue to make you get up early in the morning just as
882 you do now, but you will have to do more than that. You will become a raid and war novice."

The term that has been translated here as "novice" denotes the status of a youth who is advanced enough in his training to enter the final phases of preparation for actual raiding. Some informants use the word only to refer to the participant in the [884] four raid or war expeditions which elevate a youth to the full status of a warrior.

868 The initial training of the novice (using the word in the less
883 restricted sense) does not differ greatly from what has gone before:

> When I was a boy they began training me as a novice. To be a novice means that you cannot disobey but must train yourself as your elders say. . . . . Many a young boy at fourteen was as well trained and dangerous as a soldier.
>
> My father did his best to train me just as he had been trained when he was a young boy. He gave me all the ceremonial training he had once been through himself too. When I was ten or twelve years old he began to teach me and was very strict with me.
>
> He would say to me, "You must have your arrows and your bow where you can grab them. Keep your knife beside you. Have your moccasins ready. Be on the alert in peace or in war. Don't spend all your time sleeping. Get up when the morning star comes out. Watch for that star. Don't let it get up before you do." That is the kind of teaching a boy gets when he is a novice.

868 The reference to "ceremonial training" suggests that more
883 than purely practical measures are involved. The parents pray
782 for their son's success and future safety, and he may be taken to a
756 shaman whose ceremony is known to be of special benefit to novices. "The shaman prays that the boy may be free from [789] harm. A yellow light shines on the boy's head. It follows the boy and makes a circle back to the shaman. That means that the boy will come back safely. The shaman smokes and sings."

868 "At about fourteen years of age the boy starts hunting with
883 the men." Usually an older man who "knows" a great deal about
224 deer goes along and marks the tips of the young hunter's moccasins with blood from the kill.

000 At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure

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88 776 [539] White Painted Woman said, "From here on we will have the girl's puberty rite. When the girls first menstruate, you shall have a feast. There shall be songs for these girls. During this feast the masked dancers shall dance in front. After that there shall be round dancing and face-to-face dancing."

Other information, however, emphasizes the importance of the culture hero for this ceremony. "They do this ceremony according to the way Child of the Water directed them," said one spokesman; and another asserted that the culture hero "is the founder of this whole thing."

The pubescent girl herself is identified with White Painted Woman. During the four days and nights of the rite and for four days thereafter the girl must be addressed and referred to only as White Painted Woman. Her dress and decoration are meant to duplicate the costume which the benefactress of the tribe wore during her stay on earth. The very name, White Painted Woman, is symbolic of the body paint with which its first bearer was designed. At one point in the ritual the initiate is painted with white clay so that the promise of her name may be actualized. Throughout the songs and the prayers the girl is likened to her divine namesake; the structure that has been erected is described as "the home of White Painted Woman"; and, as an informant has put it, "the young girl is the image of the real one." This may explain the control over the weather and the curative functions of the adolescent at this period.

[302] [386] [882] [789] [755]

The "little" rite.—The physiological fact of first menstruation is cause for great rejoicing on the part of the family of the girl and is so important that reference is made to it by a different term from the one which means "regular monthly flow." Even though all is not in readiness for the prolonged ritual and celebration, the family and close neighbors gather for a feast and token ceremony, to be followed at a later date by the complete round of ritual.

881 574 [192]

They had a little ceremony for E. It was held at her parents' place. Quite a few people came down. There was a feast and social dancing. The girl was called White Painted Woman for the day of the little ceremony. The ceremony for the girl, who is about fourteen years old, came about noon. She was dressed in an uncolored buckskin costume without much design on it. I don't think it is finished yet. Mrs. S. acted as "she who trots them off" [the attendant] for her. W. sang.

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ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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Although the novices are expected to share the hardships of the journey, they are guarded from actual physical danger. The loss of a novice reflects upon the leadership of the raid, for the youth is under the protection of ritual and is present primarily for experience. 881 868 702 721

But raiding in enemy country is hazardous work at best, and sometimes the raiders, when they go forward on a particularly dangerous mission, must leave the novice at a distance so that he will not be drawn into battle. Then, if they encounter difficulties or superior forces, they may be unable to reach him again. Novices deserted in this way have perished or have suffered great hardship before reaching their homes.

Not all boys who begin this apprenticeship pass through it successfully. "If a boy is unreliable and doesn't show improvement, they don't take him out any more. They just drop him."

No special raiding parties are organized for the convenience of the novice. "The boys are taken on when there is trouble and many raids take place; then they get through in a hurry." Depending upon the needs of the encampments and the state of intertribal relations, as much as a year may elapse between the first and the fourth journeys.

Unless there is sharp criticism of the young man's conduct on the last journey, when he returns home he belongs to the ranks of the men. Of him it is said, "He has just moved up to adulthood": "It means that he has arrived at the point where he is a real man. He doesn't have to stay at home. He is free to do what he will and to have his own views. He can smoke now, and he can marry." 882 885

When the next raid or war party is announced, this new adult may participate in the war dance and commit himself to the undertaking on a different basis: "The fifth time the restrictions are off; there are no obligations to rule the young men. After the first four trips, after the apprenticeship, these youths are put first in battle to try them out. The fifth time out they are expected to be in the front ranks." 882 885 721

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Courtship, elopement, and ideals of beauty.—Only shortsighted parents fail to plan and guide their daughter's future properly, for, with matrilocal residence in force, an undisciplined daughter or an improvident son-in-law may well be their ruin as they grow older and more dependent on the younger workers. Parents and close relatives owe a girl affection, the necessities of life, protection from natural and supernatural enemies, and proper training during her formative years. In return they expect gratitude from her for the sacrifices they have made, obedience, and stable conduct. 593 [591]

Unmarried girls are carefully guarded by their relatives: 593 882

They are pretty strict with girls after the puberty ceremony and before marriage. The girls are made to cook and sew. The mother, father, or brother attends them to or from a dance. Unmarried women, if young, are not allowed at a tiswin party.

In the words of another informant: 593 584 882

The girl was watched carefully by her folks. Because of this it was necessary to have someone approach the parents and speak for you if you wanted to marry a girl. It was almost impossible to court a girl. Men had to do it on the sly.

From this statement we see the strategic advantage to the parents of premarital control over their daughters. It brings suitors or their representatives directly to them, allowing them to choose their sons-in-law and to fix the terms of the agreement.

The same degree of supervision is not exercised over the son:

They are very strict with the girls. The girls are given general information by parents and relatives. The girls have attendants when they go to dances and they are watched in the home too. The parents are not so strict with the boys. The boys are given more freedom.

The absence of any approved period of courtship is emphasized in the account of a father who advised his daughter "not to go around with any man until she was married." An able informant summed up the matter by saying: "There is not much courtship. Marriage is usually arranged. The young people do not have much to say about it. The boy has the best of it. If he sees a girl he likes, he will go to his father and tell him." 584

Though no period of open courtship is institutionalized, there are ways for young people who are attracted to each other to meet:

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584 In the old days it was considered shameful to go openly with a girl. If a man liked a girl, he would try to put himself in her way as much as possible without attracting notice. He would try to get to every social dance that she went to. That was the Chiricahua substitute for taking a girl out. It gave the young people a chance to meet. It gave the girl a chance to show whom she liked. If a girl chose the same man for a partner many times, you could be sure that that couple might get married. If a boy liked a girl and she showed him attention in this way, he might go to his father or his uncle or some other close relative and ask if he would try to arrange a marriage. Sometimes the boy would be turned down and sometimes not; he never knew.

D. is going through this stage now. He is in love with S.'s daughter. . . . . He doesn't do anything. He just goes to the store when he thinks she'll be there. He gets in a word or two. Then he goes one way and she goes another. He'll be watching every few minutes from the other side of the canyon. Pretty soon she'll come for water. He will be watching and will come to the place by a roundabout way, timing it to get there while she's there. Then he'll get in a couple of more words. Later she'll find some excuse to go off somewhere where he is, and so on.

Many understandings are reached following a military triumph. This is the time when spirits are high and when young men have won a stake which permits them to join the ranks of the suitors. "The Chiricahua turned their victories into a celebration, a dancing and marrying time. Lots of young men took advantage of the occasion."

[885] [882] [927]

583 602 The etiquette regulating the conduct of the married man and his wife's relatives makes elopement almost an impossibility. When it occurs, the affront to the girl's family is so serious that the offending couple is forced to live in isolation unless forgiveness and approval can be secured. "There are few cases of elopement. A girl who is not trained right might elope. Usually the couple doesn't come back to the girl's folks to live then but makes a camp apart."

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832 826 But, even though their parents and relatives have much to say about the choice of a mate, the young people have their own standards of beauty and desirability and their own ways of influencing the issue. Concerning the physical traits in a girl which excite most admiration, and those which are least well considered, the following pronouncement is typical:

Girls with big lips, or a big nose, or with skin too dark; who are stooped or have big feet; who have a Roman nose or one too wide, or who have too long a